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ART. V.—*Revolutions in Poland.*

1. *History of the late Polish Revolution and the Events of the Campaign.* By JOSEPH HORDYNSKI. Boston. 1832.
2. *Tableau de la Pologne, ancienne et moderne. Nouvelle Edition, entièrement refondue, augmentée et ornée de cartes.* Par LEONARD CHODZKO. Paris. 1830.
3. *Polonia, or Monthly Reports on Polish Affairs. Published by the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland.* No. 1. August, 1832. London.

The history of Poland within the memory of the present generation affords a most melancholy, yet interesting and instructive subject, for the study of the politician; nor is there a 'picture in the book of time,' which sets forth in more glaring colors the deformity and iniquity of the system by which the old world has been, and is governed, than that in which are delineated the wrongs, the sacrifices, and the struggles of this gallant and devoted nation.

It has always appeared to us that the general opinion respecting the result of the late insurrection was formed too hastily, and that there was a rational hope for Poland in her unequal struggle. Even now that the fortune of war has declared against her, we are far from renouncing that opinion. On the contrary we maintain, that an examination of the events of the war, and the political movements connected with it will show, that Poland had a fair prospect of success, and that she was once on the very eve of gaining it. But who could have foretold, that Austria would pursue such a partial and inhuman policy; that Prussia would allow the Russian armies to draw their supplies from her territories, while she not only refused to let a biscuit or a cartridge go to the Poles, but imprisoned and maltreated those who attempted to join them empty-handed? Who could have foreseen that France would, by her deceptive promises, and her solemn pledges 'that the nationality of Poland should not perish,' induce the Polish leaders to hold back the arm of the nation, at the moment when the enemy was wavering? And, above all, who could foresee that Poland, so often deceived, would again listen for a moment to any hopes of accommodation, that

she would raise any other cry than that of 'War! war to the knife!' or that her chiefs would adopt the timid and compromising foreign policy, which proved the utter ruin of their cause?

It was a great error in foreigners to suppose, that only the old Dutchy of Warsaw was concerned in the event of the late struggle; and it was very unfortunate that some, even in Poland, entertained the hope that this small portion of their country might struggle alone against Russia, and exist alone and independent after the victory. This mistaken idea still exists, and the friends of Poland in England,—even her advocates in the House of Commons,—talk not of Poland as she was and is, the mother of a population of more than ten millions of people;—they go not back, and demand the restitution of her natural and sacred rights;—but date every thing from the Congress of Vienna. They appeal to that treaty, as though it were one asserting and securing the rights of Poland, and not a part and parcel of the iniquitous partition,—a cold-blooded and formal approval of the acts of the royal spoilers.

Poland, as recognised by the treaties, cannot exist independently, nor if she could, would she be great or respected by her neighbors.

It is not our intention in this article to trace in detail the interesting events of the late struggle, although we may allude to the unhappy misunderstandings, the credulity and the errors of some of the leading men; errors which brought on the final catastrophe; nor shall we attempt an expression of the feelings of anguish, which must have arisen in every bosom, on hearing that Poland was again in the dust. We ask no tears for her; we come not to scatter flowers on her grave. It is not yet made.

It seems highly probable that Poland must, in the course of events, be called again to play an important part in Europe. There is no disguising the fact, that in those countries which once bore her name, there exist more than ten millions of brave and hardy men; that they are unfettered in their souls, and unprejudiced in their affections, by the political arrangements which have set them off to different powers; that they have a strong dislike to the governments under which they live; a strong inclination to rally round an old and beloved nationality; in fine, that nothing but force and fear keep them subject to governments, for which they can feel no affection.

Now this state of things may very well endure as long as affairs go on in the usual train, and while the arm of social power is strong; but, when the bands which bind men together are broken, and war and revolution destroy all artificial political distinctions;—when society is reduced to its primitive elements;—there is every probability that atom will cling to the atom for which it has the greatest affinity, and that, when the troubled mass shall settle, it will be in such shapes as were intended not by man, but by nature.

We find, between the Baltic and the Euxine, and between the Dwina and the Oder, one immense and almost uninterrupted plain; a great part of which formerly composed the misnamed Republic of Poland. We may take the Dwina on the north-east, and the Carpathian mountains on the south-west, for the natural boundaries. Here is a low, flat, and fertile country, called, from its evenness, *Pole*, which means a plain. The severity of the climate gives to the inhabitants their hardihood; its want of the sun has been the probable cause of their intemperate use of ardent spirits. They derive their courage and their enterprise from their race; their activity and their love of liberty from the political circumstances, in which their country has been placed during many centuries.

The Poles, as a race, are above the middling size; active and athletic, rather than robust; they are of light clear complexion, entirely different from the German yellow or sandy color; their carriage is remarkably martial, and their looks frank and open. The women are handsome; and there is a dignity in their manners, which distinguishes them from the females of the surrounding countries. Both sexes in the higher ranks have an air of command and self-possession, which, with their urbanity, and their external accomplishments, has gained them the title of the French of the North. The upper class in Poland is indeed highly accomplished in every thing that is showy and graceful; and, though destitute of a solid or useful education, they add brilliancy to every society in which they appear. Many a Polish gentleman, who has no idea of the theory of an eclipse, can nevertheless converse as easily and elegantly in French, German, and Russian, as in his native tongue, and can express himself with fluency and correctness in Latin.

The early history of the country is enveloped in obscurity, and disguised by fable; and it is not until the year 1000, that we find the power of Poland known and re-

spected by her neighbors. Boleslas the Great, uniting the heretofore dissevered provinces into one, began the career of conquest which his successors followed up, until Poland became one of the leading States of Europe. He was the great feudal head of the country, ruling over powerful, but obedient vassal chiefs, each of whom had his castle, and reigned over his province. The castles of the nobility served as places of defence for the common people in case of invasion; and indeed we find that, in many parts, all the cattle were driven by the peasantry every night into the castle of their chief. All the inhabitants were obliged to bear arms, and all were at the beck of their feudal lord. In the earlier ages, all those who were rich enough to keep a horse, and purchase the expensive armor of a cavalier, were called nobles; and the title descended to such of their posterity as had art enough to impress the people with an idea of their superiority.

There were, at this time, no other serfs or slaves in Poland, than the prisoners taken in war; nor did these remain long in servitude; for as soon as they could cultivate waste land enough for their own use, and establish themselves upon it, they became free.

There was at this time a mutual dependence between the noble and the peasant. If the talents and courage of their feudal lord, in leading them against a common enemy, were necessary to the peasantry, and if his castle walls gave them refuge in the hour of danger, and his granaries fed them in the season of famine; on the other hand, he was as much dependent on them, to fill his ranks and replenish his coffers. The time had not arrived, when the nobles became not only useless, but oppressive to the people. The noble indeed reaped where he had not sown, and his children ate the fatling of the people's flock; but then, his lance was ever in the rest; he ever claimed the first place in the battle as at the board, and, with his brave sons about him, he poured out his blood, and their blood, like water, in defence of the firesides of his people.

The nobles were called counts, or, in the language of the country, *castellani*; and they acted also as judges, in all causes civil and criminal; the king reserving to himself the right of pardon, in fact calling himself chief judge. The judges acted as mediators whenever it was possible; yet we find even in this age that they were sticklers for fees; for when (as often happened

even in criminal affairs) the injured party accepted a pecuniary satisfaction from the offender or criminal, the judge claimed his fee, as though the case had come before him. They decided not by written laws or precepts ; indeed it is doubtful whether they could always read, for it is positively asserted, that their sentences were not recorded.*

The king judged between the nobles, and between them and the people. The latter often stopped him when riding out, and he always paid immediate attention to the case ; he often punished with death and by torture ; and always, it seems, in an arbitrary or whimsical manner. Boleslas used to invite persons whom he judged guilty of petty offences to come to the bath with him ; and when they were stripped, he ordered them to be lashed.

It was a law, that any land of which the possessor died without heir, might be taken by the first comer ; and this was a means used by the nobility for increasing their own possessions ; for they would not allow any one else to be first comer, always standing ready themselves, and in later ages putting aside any troublesome claimant in an uncereemonious manner.

Christianity was early introduced into Poland, and we find that, in the twelfth century, the prelates began to share with the nobles in the appropriation of this world's goods to themselves. Property had now become fixed and hereditary ; and we find the law of inheritance construed as liberally for their own benefit by the nobility and the clergy, in Poland, as it was in all the other parts of Europe. Great privileges were attached to the property which they held in this right ; they were not only free from all imposts on contributions ; but were exempt from the duty of repairing roads and castles. Besides this, the grandees or nobles soon claimed the privilege of acting as judges between themselves and the people, and discarded all other authority than their own within their possessions.

The natural inclination of man to get power, and increase it when obtained, led to many abuses ; and although we do not find the people, in this age, completely *gleba adscripti*, still, in many provinces, they held their lands only at the pleasure of the nobles.

We have thus hastily adverted to the origin of the power of

* Lelevel.

the nobility, on account of the immense influence which it has ever since exercised in the political affairs of Poland.

The origin of the late revolutionary movements must of course be sought in that extraordinary transaction,—on many accounts perhaps the most remarkable in the whole course of modern history,—*the partition of Poland*.

It was towards the middle of the last century, that a knowledge of the real causes of the troubles, which had so long distracted the kingdom, began to be diffused among men of education, and that many patriots set themselves seriously about the work of regeneration. They attempted to break the power of the two hundred thousand nobles, who constituted the Government; to divide this power between the nobles, the king, and the people; to abolish the fatal *liberum veto*; and to put an end to confederations, and the *pacta conventa*. But they were too late. Russia, Austria and Prussia had already marked Poland for their prey, and resolved to prevent any remedy being applied to the evils, which were rapidly bringing her within their grasp. A lawless and violent interference had already taken place; for when the Diet in 1733 had elected the virtuous and unfortunate Leczynski to the throne, Russia declared that he should not remain upon it. He had married the daughter of Louis XV. of France; and Russia feared the introduction of French influence in Poland. The usual intrigues were set on foot; a few unprincipled nobles and venal bishops were invited to confederate to protest against the election of Leczynski, to proclaim Augustus III., a Saxon Prince, and to call in the Russian army to support them. They did so; and the Russians, who were standing tip-toe on the frontier, swept over the country, forced Leczynski to fly, and established Augustus.

The next election was managed in the same way; but stern and devoted patriots were found at the Diet, who, hoping that the ill-omened *veto* might for once at least be useful to their country, boldly threw themselves forward, and by their disapproval rendered null the proposals. The Marshal, or Speaker of the Diet, dissolved it by his own authority. But the *veto* seemed a spirit hanging over Poland for evil only, and not for good; the Russian party disregarded it, they caused a commission to be formed of the factious nobles; and, calling it the government, they caused several dreadful blows to be given to the interests of Poland; the elector of Brandenburg

was recognised as king of Prussia ; and the Czar of Moscow as emperor of all the Russias.

But the more darkly the clouds lowered over Poland, the more numerous and energetic did her true patriots appear. It was resolved to place a real Pole upon the throne ; and at the next election they chose Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski for their king. It is true that he was sustained both by Russia and Prussia, and that he had been one of the favorites of the Empress Catherine ; but it was hoped that his patriotism would revive. It did so, indeed, for a time ; that weak-minded prince seemed to set himself seriously to work to prop the falling fortunes of Poland. He proposed and effected a reform of the *liberum veto*, applying it only to certain political questions : a system of duties was established for goods imported, there having been none exacted before but by individual nobles on the frontier ; a corps of cadets was formed at Warsaw, and many other useful steps were taken, before Russia was startled by the defection of her *protégé*. At the opening of the Diet of 1766, the king proposed to abolish the *liberum veto* entirely ; and to increase the revenues, and consequently the power of the throne. But Russia was there ; and her ambassador had the audacity to declare, that his mistress never would consent to such measures. By the influence of Czartoryski and some others of the high nobility, the confederation of the Diet was dissolved ; consequently the *liberum veto* came into force, and with it came anarchy. The confederation of the Diet has been misunderstood, and generally confounded with non-official confederations, which were entirely different. When the Diet was summoned for the purpose of any public exigency, it could *confederate itself* by unanimous consent ; and when so *confederated*, the power of the veto was lost, and all questions were decided by a majority of voices.

There was then no hope for the patriots but in open resistance. The king had begged pardon of Russia for his momentary patriotism ; they abandoned him, and formed the celebrated *confederation of Bar*, so named because it was at the village of Bar that many of the most illustrious and most devoted patriots of Poland leagued together, and swore to redeem their country before she had become entirely a prey to her rapacious neighbors. It was necessary for the confederates to make some appeal, which would come home to the hearts of the lower classes ; and it was that of the restoration of their

ancient religion, and the exclusion of protestant influence in the Government : hence this confederation has been stigmatized as an association of bigots, animated only by religious fury. Never was a calumny more completely refuted by the result ; the patriots in every part of Poland answered enthusiastically to the call of the confederates of Bar, and a desperate struggle ensued with the armies of Russia, which were marched into Poland and acted with Poniatowski and his few troops. The confederation was supported by Turkey, who marched upon Russia on one side ; and by France, whose cabinet, under the guidance of the able Choiseul, saw the necessity of checking the power of Russia. Thus encouraged from without, and supported by the enthusiasm of the people, success seemed crowning the confederates. They declared the throne vacant, and were beating back the Russians step by step, when Turkey was forced to a peace ; the Choiseul ministry fell into disgrace in France ; several of the leading chiefs of the confederation died or were slain ; and the Austrian army on one side, and the Prussian on the other entered the territories of Poland. There was now but one resource left for the confederates ; by a bold stroke they seized upon the person of the king, and attempted to induce him to head the national party ; but he basely deserted them in the night, and fled to the Russians. These devoted men, after protesting solemnly against this invasion of their soil by foreign nations, were obliged to disperse ; and the invading powers proceeded to the first partition of Poland.

Then it was that the miserable Poniatowski saw the abyss into which he had plunged his country, and rallied courage enough to issue his solemn protest against the partition.

He was obliged, however, by the ministers of the three powers to convoke a Diet ; ‘ that memorable Diet of 1773, which displayed such a struggle between vice and virtue, between patriotism and treason.’ Then there went up to Warsaw, from the provinces of Poland, nobles who forgot all their own interests, all their own passions, resolved to sacrifice every thing on the altar of patriotism. Many a young man, as he mounted his horse and sallied out, surrounded by his chosen followers, from those turreted walls where his ancestors had held feudal sway for ages, heard the blessing of his father, mingled with words like those of the aged Korsak to his son : ‘ Adieu, my brave boy,’ said he, ‘ I send with you to Warsaw

my oldest and most faithful servants, and I pray God they may bring you back a corpse, rather than come with the news that you have not withstood with all your might whatever may be proposed, that is disadvantageous to your country.' *

And bravely and obstinately did Korsak, and Taremba, and Tymoski, and many others, struggle for the liberties of Poland ; but what could they do against intrigue, and treason, and brute force ? No one can have forgotten how their legal resistance was overcome by violence ; how armed soldiers were placed in the hall of deliberation ; how Reyten, the Cato of Poland, in defiance of danger, and in a state of exhaustion, continued to occupy his post, and to protest from the tribune ; or how, to get rid of him, the Diet was held without the hall ; and how he lay thirty-six hours in a state of insensibility, ere he was removed from the place on which he had fallen, and where he had so long struggled for the independence of his country. His firmness was such, that a Prussian general who was present could not but grasp his hand, and cry with enthusiasm, *optime vir, gratulor tibi ; optime rem tuam egisti*.

Such was the enthusiastic patriotism of Reyten, that his heart was broken, and his brain was turned, when he found that all his efforts were useless ; he went raving mad, and seizing in his frenzy a drinking glass, he crushed it with his teeth, swallowed the fragments, and died with the name of Poland on his lips.

After such a violent struggle, what remained of Poland sunk into the quiet of exhaustion for some time ; but this quiet was political and physical, not moral ; for we find that an immense advance was made in the education of the people, and in the dissemination of rational ideas of liberty. Each Diet enacted wise and prudent laws, conformable to the spirit of the age ; and in 1791 was issued that excellent constitution, which seemed to guaranty to Poland, shorn as she was of territory, a long, peaceable, and happy political existence, as a second rate power. The *liberum veto* and the confederacies were abolished ; the middling class were admitted to a participation of power, and measures were taken for the education of the peasantry. The throne was made hereditary in the house of Saxony ; and a tenth of the revenues was voted to the Government, with an authorization to augment the army to one

* Tableau de la Pologne, p. 107.

hundred thousand men. Complete religious toleration was proclaimed; the peasantry were freed from the odious condition which bound them to the land which they cultivated; the burgesses or middling class, were permitted to buy the lands of the nobility, and every foreigner entering Poland was declared to be a freeman. In fine, it was a constitution of which Burke said, 'it benefits all classes and injures none;' and of which Kant added, '*nisi scirem opus humanum esse divinum crederim.*'

Political circumstances prevented any union of Russia and Prussia at that moment, and indeed the latter charged her ambassador to congratulate Poland on her happy and wise revolution, which had given her such an excellent constitution.

Let it be observed that this revolution was entirely in favor of monarchical institutions, and destructive of the democratic power. How false then, how absurd the hypocrisy of the three Governments, which asserted that their interference in the affairs of Poland was necessary, to prevent the propagation of French jacobinical principles! The manner of the adoption of this constitution spoke volumes for Poland; for the Diet, having voted it first by acclamation, again reconsidered and approved it, and then submitted it to the electoral bodies, in every part of Poland, by which it was every where accepted with enthusiasm.

But the three powerful nations who surrounded her had already planned a second partition; and measures were already taken by them to put it into execution.

There has been but one voice among men on the subject of the partition of Poland;—it has been that of loud, and decided condemnation; but their opinions respecting the cause have been various; and although the generally received one, that territorial acquisition was the principal motive, has much apparent reason, there were doubtless other powerful ones in action. We would fain not think so meanly of human nature, as to suppose that Maria Theresa, hypocrite as she was, could have been actuated merely by cupidity, or that this motive alone should have induced the king of Prussia to violate the treaties on which his signature was hardly yet dry, and break the word of honor which had just escaped his lips; nor was it the interest of Russia, to risk the unity of her empire and the *homogeneity* of her people, for the mere acquisition of acres, of which she had millions on millions to,

spare. It is apparent, in fact, from the correspondence of Catherine, that her eagle eye saw into futurity; and that she wished to put far off the evil day, which she felt must come to institutions like hers. She saw that Poland was so rapidly improving in her political institutions, that they would very soon present a dangerous contrast with those of Russia; and that the increasing civilization and liberality of Poland must make her the friend and ally of France, in case of war. Catherine saw, too, the spread of constitutional principles in the South, and she resolved, if possible, to league the North against it. Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and perhaps England, were to form a coalition, of which Russia was to be the real head, against the liberties of the South and West of Europe.

There is every reason to suppose, that Prussia and Austria at times sincerely disapproved of the plan of the partition, which Catherine conceived, and so steadily persevered in. They had, and have, an instinctive dread of the preponderance of Russia; and as often as they have been parties to measures that increased it, it has been from some momentary urgency, or some extraordinary temptation: even as lately as the Congress of Vienna, this feeling acted strongly in favor of Poland. The allies would never have signed the treaty which Russia held out to them, had not the news of the landing of Napoleon from Elba come like a thunderbolt among them, and made them hastily gather up their parchments, to handle their swords.

The second partition of Poland, in 1793, was effected by the same fraud and force as the first; the much talked of confederation at Turgowicz of Polish nobles, was a mere pretence to cover the entry of the Russian troops; and their efforts, being seconded by Stanislaus, were soon successful. The Russians, acting apparently under the directions of the Turgowician nobles, proceeded to call a Diet at Grodno, composed as much as possible of men without courage or principle; they there proposed the partition, but were unable, even by introducing armed soldiers into the hall, to keep down the indignant protestations of many of the members.

These, however, were of little avail; the partition was made. Prussia took Dantzic and Thorn. Russia seized upon half of Volhynia and Lithuania; and the act was published, with a solemn guaranty to Poland of the inviolability of the rest of her territory. The mask was now torn off. Poland saw, in all their deformity, her spoilers, who had come in the

name of allies, and with a general cry of indignation she flew to arms. The result of that struggle is known.

But though the name of the kingdom was erased from the map of Europe, the features of the country were not changed ; the inhabitants continued to be, and to feel that they were Poles, and every revolving year has but added to the desire of national emancipation, and consequently to the weight of oppression which has kept it down. If we except a part of the Prussian spoil, no other change has been effected in Poland, than in the form of the political institutions, and the persons who administer them ; and we have seen that discontent and revolt have been continually attesting the presence and pressure of that nationality, which makes a people prefer independence with less physical well-being, to prosperity under a foreign yoke. Poland has never consented to her political annihilation. On the contrary, her solemn protestations, her bloody struggles, and her renewed revolts at every glimmer of hope, have freed her from any possibility of the charge of falsehood or treachery, should she at any time rise upon her oppressors with the dagger of the midnight conspirator.

From the last partition of Poland, until the recent fall of Warsaw, her history is one loud protest against the wrongs done to her ; and the violent measures taken to ensure the tame endurance of the yoke were as ineffectual, as the one now in operation to ensure the future tranquillity of the country. After the fall of Kosciusko and the blight of Poland's hopes, there went forth from her soil thousands and tens of thousands of her patriotic sons : some were dragged to Siberia ; some shut up in the fortresses of Prussia and Austria ; others went voluntary exiles to France, to Sweden, and to Turkey. But while the cities of Poland were kept still by the cannon with its ever-lighted match, and the villages were the *bivouacs* of the cavalry and infantry from Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the exiled children of Poland forgot not their country, but eagerly enlisted in the service of France, and fought in freedom's foremost rank, hoping to extend her sway to their own benighted land. The Polish legions under Dombrowski, amounting to several thousand men, covered themselves with glory ; and by a singular turn of fortune, these homeless wanderers entered in triumph the walls of imperial Rome, once the mistress of the world,—then the head quarters of a victorious band of exiled patriots.

Dombrowski concluded an arrangement, by which he agreed to give the service of his fellow-soldiers to the new Italian republic. They were to receive the pay and privileges of the Italians; they continued to wear their own costume, to command in their own language, and assumed the tri-colored cockade.

The ultimate object of the Polish patriots was to keep up the spirits of their countrymen, and to have an armed representation of Poland, as there was a diplomatic one at Paris, semi-officially recognised by the French government. When Dombrowski and his fellow-exiles had made this arrangement, he issued proclamations, and sent them to Poland, calling on his countrymen to rally round the banner of freedom, the only banner under which they could hope to do aught for Poland. It was a magnificent thought,—an heroic undertaking, worthy of the great mind of Dombrowski,—that of eventually freeing his own country, by establishing freedom all over Europe; and fully did his countrymen appreciate his motives, and nobly did they answer his call; for within a month after he had issued his proclamation, nearly two thousand of them joined his banner.

‘It was then that thousands of patriots abandoned at his call their families, and their firesides; the rich forgot their riches, the young their pleasures; and the women, forgetful of their dependence, exhorted their brothers, their husbands and their sons to take up arms for their country. In defiance of the confiscation of their goods, braving even the risk of death upon the scaffold, the Poles were seen thronging every road that led to Italy, to join the banner of their nation. The traveller met them every where, from the Borysthènes to the Appenines, penniless indeed, and ignorant of the language of the country they were traversing, yet hastening on, full of enthusiasm, where the cause of their country called them.’* ‘Those who had been forcibly enrolled in the Austrian army abandoned their ranks and joined Dombrowski, who soon found himself in sufficient force to attempt to penetrate through Lusatia and Hungary into Poland, and there display the old banner of independence.’

This bold plan of Dombrowski was as well grounded as it was hardily conceived; Galicia was, is, and long will be ready to rise upon the Austrians, the moment any rational pros-

* *Tableau de la Pologne*, Vol. II. p. 144.

pect is held out of the recovery of her ancient liberties. Hungary, ever discontented,—ever influenced by undefined, yet instinctive longings for independence,—would have favored his march, and probably have done more to assist him, as she did Poland in her last struggle, by the hearty coöperation of many of her sons. The state of Europe seemed to favor the idea. France was ready to march toward Poland; Napoleon and the Directory encouraged the plan, and it was ripe for execution, when the treaty of Leoben, establishing the peace, rendered it impracticable. Napoleon, doubtless favorable in his heart to Poland, could only say to Dombrowski, in answer to his prayers for his country, that ‘the wishes of every friend of liberty and the rights of man must be in favor of the brave Poles, but it was only *time and the progress of events*, that could reestablish them in their independence.’ An opinion given with his usual sagacity and foresight, and which is as true now, as when he pronounced it.

The Polish legions in Italy were however still in the front of every battle, and exposed to every hardship; in the dreadful fight at Trebbia, where less than four thousand of them were engaged, one thousand were killed on the field, and a proportional number wounded. The dying lamentation of the brave General Rymkiewicz, as he lay on the field, weltering in his gore, ‘Why—oh! why was it not my lot to pour out my blood on the bosom of my mother country?’ was doubtless the prayer of many an exiled soldier of Poland, as he breathed his last on the soil of the stranger and in the stranger’s cause.

‘At this period the soldier of Poland braved death with the more eagerness, the more fury, that he had before him the two sworn enemies of his country; that he fought against the same Suvaroff, and the same Russians, who had stained their hands with the horrible carnage of Praga. To avenge on their murderers the death of their brethren, and to crush the united troops of the tyrants of their country, were the great objects of the Polish legions.’*

Both these corps of exiled patriots were almost entirely annihilated little by little; other legions were formed, called those of the Danube, and it was intended that they should have penetrated into Poland; but this was always prevented

* Histoire des Legions Polonaises en Italie.

by some political arrangement between France and her enemies, in which Poland was never remembered.

These legions, too, suffered very severely ; but Poland had wanderers enough to supply the places of such as perished, and we find that, on Napoleon's calling them together in 1801, they mustered fifteen thousand strong. The conduct of the Polish legions in the French service forms an affecting episode in the history of Poland. If they watered in vain with their blood every battle-field of Europe, and in vain left their bones to bleach on the shores of Italy, Spain, and St. Domingo, at least they added one more to the thousand proofs of the devoted patriotism and strongly marked nationality, which distinguish their countrymen. For they were not all necessarily exiles ; Prussia, at least, used every means, to induce the Poles' to remain content upon her soil. Provided only they would cease to be Poles, and act as Germans, they were protected and encouraged. But their attachment to the independence of their country made them neglect every personal consideration ; and on this feeling, still existing in the mind of almost every Pole, is founded the hope that they will recover the rank and the rights of their nation.

The reappearance of Poland upon the political arena in 1807, and the rapid improvement that was perceptible in her moral and intellectual condition, as seen in her political institutions, were proofs enough, if any were wanting, of the continuance of her *nationality* : but there were still more important indications manifested. It soon appeared that Galicia had lost none of her attachment to the cause of Poland, and that its inhabitants still regarded her as their mother country : and also that Lithuania cherished the same feeling, and wished only for an opportunity of combining with her against the common enemy. Poland fell, indeed, with the fall of Napoleon ; but it was not without hesitation and misgivings on the part of the Allies, that they renounced the opportunity of raising a barrier against Russia, by recalling Poland to political life. England and Austria were strenuous opposers of the plans of Russia, and would have resisted them. Had Napoleon allowed them time, they might have succeeded.

The Congress of Vienna proclaimed the kingdom of Poland, and guarantied to it many valuable privileges ; and while acting under the wholesome influence of fear, the Allies prom-

ised to her, as they did to Germany, the enjoyment of a constitutional government with equal representation, of the liberty of the press, and of education. Nor is there any doubt, that the Allies sincerely intended to do what they promised; or that the solemn assurances which Alexander gave to the Poles, of his intentions in favor of their country, were made in good faith; because, in both cases, the parties making the promises saw no probability of their ever being able to break them. '*Have confidence in me,*' said Alexander, '*in my principles, in my character, and your hopes will not be deceived; you will see how dear to me are the interests of Poland; as to forms, the most liberal are those which I have always preferred!*' But the Congress of Carlsbad retracted the promises, and violated the pledges given at Vienna; and it is from that epoch, that the reign of despotism began in Poland, and that every chartered right was trampled down. We shall not allude, however, to the numerous acts by which Russia violated her solemn promises to Poland, and thereby freed the Poles from their obligations to keep the peace. Let him who has any doubts on the subject, examine the state of the kingdom of Poland, even before the death of Alexander; let him compare the spirit of his promises made in 1815, with the decree of the 14th September, 1824, in which he condemned to perpetual banishment all those who attempted to spread the doctrine of '*l'insensée nationalité Polonaise dans les provinces de la Pologne Russe!*'

Poland had so long been the sport of fortune, the blossom of her hopes had so often been ripened into fruit full of ashes and bitterness, that the arrangement of 1815, by which liberty and *nationality* were solemnly guaranteed to four millions of her people, was pleasing to every patriot. The venerable Kosciusko, who was then living in Paris, wrote to Alexander, that if these conditions should be fulfilled, 'he would come among the first to throw himself at his majesty's feet, to thank him, and render him homage as his sovereign.' This was then the general feeling; but so lawless had been the despotic sway of the Russians, especially since 1825, that it was changed to one of indignation, and stern resolve to throw off the yoke at all hazards.

There was one wide spreading, deep-seated detestation of Russian sway, arising principally from its abuses, and not from any hatred to the Russians as a nation; this feeling enters not

the minds of the Poles, descended as they are from the same race, and partaking, as they do, more of the habits and customs of Russia, than of the rest of Europe ;* nor did it arise from commercial or agricultural distress, or from financial impositions.

It cannot be denied, that during the Russian administration in Poland, many important improvements were effected ; nor that the physical, commercial, and agricultural state of the country was prosperous. But the Poles had higher motives ; they saw that the national character, the national existence of their country, were to be obliterated ; and that patriotism, which animates even their rude serfs, bade them prefer to live poor, rather than not live Poles. We repeat it, the great incentive to the late struggle, the incentive which still exists, and must continue to exist, was the determination of the people to preserve their national existence, and not the immediate pressure of physical or political distress : a principle which may clearly be seen operating in every movement of Poland for the last forty years ; a principle, on which she founds her hopes of future independence.

We shall now hastily glance at the leading characteristics of the late struggle. They prove, not so much the talents of Polish generals, or the courage of Polish soldiers, for these have passed into a proverb ; as the extent to which the people of Poland have preserved those feelings which constitute a nation, *de facto*, whether it be independent, or in bondage. The leading points to which we propose to invite the reader's attention, are briefly these.

1. The revolt, though sudden, had been foreseen by the Poles as inevitable ; and though it burst forth before it was fully matured, more than four millions, who were burning with impatience for its appearance, hailed it with rapture ; and nearly ten-millions would have been roused to action, had it eventually triumphed.

2. The cause was lost by the credulity and political inability

* In their late manifesto or declaration of independence, the Poles said, 'we have been influenced by no hatred against Russia, whose race and our own have a common origin. There was a time when we consoled ourselves for the loss of our independence in the reflection, that though an union under the same sceptre might be injurious to our particular interest, it would be the means of extending to a population of forty millions, the enjoyment of free institutions.'

of the chiefs, and by the dishonorable and unjustifiable interference of foreign powers, *rather than crushed by the battalions of Russia.*

3. *There is still a hope left for Poland,—there is yet a probability, that she may one day hold a high and respectable rank among the nations of the earth.*

1. That the revolt was foreseen, and that preparations had been making for it during several years, is evident from the internal politics of Poland; from the open secession of every man of patriotism from the Russian party; from the courageous efforts to maintain the constitution; and from the formation of patriotic societies, with the avowed purpose of restoring the independence of Poland. The words of the illustrious Dombrowski, when near his end, appear to have caused the first associations. The veteran had conceived some hopes from the fair promises of Alexander, but he had buried them, and was mourning over their loss in 1818, when he said to the war-worn veterans who composed his household, ‘Is it not possible to kindle a flame from the hidden fire which burns in the bosom of every patriot? Can we not arouse our countrymen to a sense that, to become independent and powerful as their ancestors, they have only to be confident in themselves, to unite and to assert their independence?’ The society of *franc-maçonnerie nationale*, and the *Société des Faucheurs* were formed immediately afterwards, and had extensive ramifications; still more had been done by the *Société patriotique nationale*, the object of which was to defend the liberty and nationality of Poland, and to reunite in one body those portions of it which are divided among foreign governments.

In 1821, we find the Russians actively engaged in putting down the secret societies; and in 1825, notwithstanding the denial of Polish writers, it is evident that the patriotic associations were affiliated with the conspirators in Russia; and that, from Petersburg to Warsaw, there was a secret chord which, if struck at one end, would vibrate to the other. That conspiracy, so extensive in its ramifications, and numbering, as it did, so many officers of the Russian army among its members, shows how precarious must be at this day the seat of a despot, whose dominions are accessible to the light of reason: for, at the very fountain-head of absolute power, and among the satellites of despotism, was formed an extensive plan for its overthrow, and the establishment of a republic.

The secret *patriotic society* not only extended its influence through the kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, but had numerous members in Volhynia, Podolia, and even in the Ukraine ;—old provinces of Poland, which were supposed to have lost all attachment to her. The oath of initiation ran thus.

‘I swear before my God, and my country, and I pledge my sacred honor, that I will exert all my powers for the reestablishment of my beloved native land ; and that, if necessary, I will sacrifice for her independence, my fortune, and my life. Reckless of personal consequences, I will spare not the blood either of a traitor, or of any one who shall be in action against the good of my country. If I violate these engagements, may the death of a dog and a traitor be my lot ! may my name pass accursed, from mouth to mouth, till the latest posterity, and may my body be abandoned to the beasts of the forest !—I call on God to witness my sincerity, and strengthen my resolutions. Illustrious shades of Zolkiewski, Czarniecki, Poniatowski, and Kosciusko, inspire me with your sentiments, and watch over my actions !’

Such was the oath of the patriots of Poland, who were obliged to meet at midnight, and to skulk through the streets to the place of rendezvous, disguised as peasants, or Jews, or laborers, in order to escape the argus eyes of the Russian police ; whose oath of office may here be placed side by side with the one just quoted. It ran thus.

‘I swear by the Almighty, in Trinity one and indivisible, by the Holy Virgin Mary, mother of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, before all the saints, and particularly my patron saint, that I will fulfil this public service with all zeal, and in the strict observance of all the articles of instruction which shall be read or committed to me. I swear that I will at the same time observe the most profound secrecy about that which shall be confided or commanded by the royal authority ; that I will reveal nothing of it to my relations, nor to other individuals of the police, nor to the heads of the police.

‘In case I should be removed from the police, or from my present section, I swear never to reveal to any one that which shall have been confided to me by my chiefs, or my Government ; *and above all, I swear never to disclose to any one that this oath exists, nor that I have taken one.*’

Lithuania too had her patriotic societies, formed with the express view of throwing off the Russian yoke. That of the *Rayonnans*, planned by the heroic Zan, and that of the *Philaretes*, both formed at Wilna, had an immense effect in spreading the flame of patriotism through Russian Poland; from all the provinces of which, the young nobles and sons of Polish gentlemen resorted to the then flourishing university; where some of the professors' chairs, in spite of Russian influence, were filled by such men as Joachim Lelewel, 'the idol of the Lithuanians, and one of those who have most adorned science and imagination by a happy application of them in their writings, and their eloquent lectures.'

Let it be recollected, that these associations or conspiracies were formed before the death of Alexander, on whose natural goodness of heart, and decided partiality for individual Poles, many patriots fondly counted; that the accession of Nicholas, and the atrocious administration of Constantine, shut out every hope of the regeneration of Poland by any means but the edge of the sword; that thousands and tens of thousands of Poles had imbibed the most liberal sentiments during their sojourn in France and Italy; and that a vast diffusion of knowledge had taken place all over the country, giving a good tendency to the never failing patriotism of the nation. In fine, let it be recollected, that Nicholas was driven by fear to grant the assembling of the Diet in 1830; that the utmost efforts of the Russians were unable to prevent the election of many known patriots, and that, though the Emperor came to Warsaw in person to open the assembly, he could not awe the opposition, or prevent it from preparing the impeachment of the ministers, for numerous violations of the charter. So liberal and so national a Diet was too dangerous to be tolerated, and it was closed on the 28th of June. Then, at three hours after midnight, and after a stormy debate, the Dietines dispersed, but not until there had been many fiery bursts of patriotic feeling.

Just one month after this, the inhabitants of Paris struck that glorious blow which rang like a death-knell in the ear of tyrants, and which sounded the *reveillé* of freedom to enthralled Europe. Poland caught the sound, as it came swelling with the battle cry of Belgium and Brunswick, and shook her chains with an impatience which made her friends and enemies alike tremble; the first for her hopes, the second for

their own safety. From that moment, the explosion became inevitable; and cool-headed patriots endeavored only to put it off as long as possible, that greater preparations might be made to render it general. A universal uneasiness and agitation pervaded the country, which the secret societies, and the most hot-headed of the youth could not conceal from the agents of the police, who swarmed to such a degree in Warsaw, and over the country, that no man was sure even of his own domestics. Strong measures were taken to keep the students of the University and the military schools from communicating with the citizens, but in vain. Secret meetings were held, and several periods were fixed on for ringing the alarm; but they were altered, for various reasons, until it was definitively decided, on the 28th of November, 1830, that a rising should take place the next day. It did so. The conspirators set fire to some houses in the evening, and rushed into the streets, crying 'To arms, to arms! Poland is up! God, for our country!' A band of fifteen daring youths dashed headlong over every obstacle, and burst into the palace of Constantine. The ordinary guard was sixty men; but the conspirators counted not the cost; they threw down every man they met, penetrated to the sleeping chamber of the Grand Duke, and almost grasped his night clothes, as he fled by a secret stairway.

It was a dreadfully interesting and a spirit-stirring night, that of the 29th of November, at Warsaw. The blaze of the burning buildings showed the conspirators, the students, and the cadets, running up and down the streets, shouting 'To arms! to arms! hurrah for old Poland! down with the tyrants!' The most zealous of the inhabitants poured out of their houses, to fall upon and disarm the surprised Russians. By the dawn of day, they were driven from post to post, and beaten almost out of the city. In the words of Mr. Hordynski,—who relates with accuracy the commencement of the revolt,—'crowds flocked in from all sides to the public places. It was a scene never equalled. The whole population assembled without distinction of age, rank, or sex. Old men, who were past the use of swords, brandished their sticks and crutches, and recalled the days of Kosciusko. Clergymen, civil officers, foreigners, Jews, and even women and children, armed with pistols, mingled in the ranks.'

It is important for the establishment of our first point, to

show the unanimous acclamation with which the signal for revolt was hailed by the population, not only the four millions of the kingdom of Poland, but that of the old provinces. Major Hordynski,—whose work is excellent rather as memoirs for the history of the campaign, than as a history in itself,—says, that, in three days after the Russians were driven from Warsaw,

‘A regiment of *chasseurs* arrived from Plock; at the same time arrived Col. Sierawski from Serock with his regiment. They were received with great enthusiasm. New detachments from the provinces marched into Warsaw every day. A truly affecting sight it was, to see more than a thousand peasants, and about fifty peasant girls, marching into the city with clubs, scythes and weapons of every description.’

Constantine stood trembling on the opposite bank of the Vistula; he had with him a highly disciplined force of 5000 foot, 2500 artillery, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. Warsaw was all confusion; a few bombs or hot shot might have set it in a blaze, yet so universal was the rising around, and behind him, that *he was happy to accept the magnanimous offer of the Poles, to let him retire unmolested to the frontier.*

‘The fourth, fifth and sixth days of December were remarkable days in the history of our revolution. Soldiers and peasants flocked in from all sides, from all quarters of the country. In a short time more than five thousand peasants, armed with scythes, axes, and other weapons were counted. Among them were more than two hundred peasant girls with sickles.’*

In the distant provinces of Russian Poland, the inhabitants felt the warmest enthusiasm in favor of their brethren in the kingdom of Poland, which was displayed by tumults and revolts.

‘The insurrection in Lithuania and Samogitia was propagated with rapidity through all the departments. What deserves especially to be noticed is, that in Lithuania it was the peasants and the priests, together with the youth of the academies, who first began the revolt, and who were the most zealous defenders of the common cause. From that moment the flames spread to the departments of Wilna, Wilkomierz, Rosseyne and Szawla. In a few weeks, more than twelve towns were taken by storm, and the Russian garrisons driven out and dispersed.’

* Hordynski, p. 54.

When we consider this rapid diffusion of the revolt in the old Polish provinces, and the unhesitating zeal with which thousands left their homes, and their interests, and came pouring in from Russian, Prussian, and Austrian Poland, we cannot but conclude that the labors of the patriotic societies had gone far to prepare the whole people for a revolution.

2. *Poland was lost, rather by the credulity and political inability of her chiefs, and by the dishonorable and unjustifiable interference of Prussia and Austria, than crushed by the battalions of Russia.*

The appearances of discord between the two great parties in Poland were manifested within forty-eight hours after the Russians were driven from Warsaw ; the aristocracy and the republicans of the country exhibited their opposing interests almost immediately.

The aristocracy was represented by men of undoubted patriotism, but who were sticklers for the honors, the privileges, and what they called the rights of their order ; men, whose age and whose secure possession of rank and riches made them unwilling to incur any risks. The republicans, whose representative was the Patriotic Society, were young and fiery, but sincerely patriotic ; many were loose members of society, without much to risk ; and those who had titles and estates were eager to stake them and their own blood upon one desperate throw for the liberty of their country. Improbable as it would appear from the character of the parties, the measures proposed by the latter, the *chubbists*, as they were called, were the only ones which could have saved Poland.

The first great error was the appointment of Chlopicki to the Dictatorship. Although he was as brave as his sword, and devoted to Poland, he had declared from the first that he did not believe in the possible success of the revolt ; and this should have kept him from the place. ‘ *Bon général, excellent soldat, Chlopicki était fait le moins du monde pour une dictature. Il ne comprenait ni la politique, ni la diplomatie ; il n’entendait rien non plus à une révolution sociale ; aussi, au lieu de marcher avec la nation, d’entrer dans le mouvement, il se jeta dans la résistance comme si la modération pouvait servir avec des barbares ! Cette dictature, dont il s’était emparé par suite d’une coterie aristocratique, perdait la Pologne à son debut.*’* Chlopicki was appointed General in Chief on

* Fayot, Vol. III. p. 128.

the first of December ; four days before the Provisional Government created him dictator. His first measures were marked by the spirit of the party he represented. His first great error, that of believing in the possibility of compromising honorably for Poland with the Emperor, led him into the second, that of allowing Constantine and his troops to retire, when it was at his option to have captured them.

It is indisputable, that Constantine was entirely in the power of the Poles. Chlopicki should have detained him as a prisoner and hostage ; and not, in the vain hope of softening Russia by a display of generous magnanimity, have lost the immense advantage to Poland, of having a brother of the Czar, and several thousand of his troops, within the walls of Warsaw.

The same belief in the possibility of negotiating, without terrifying Russia, caused Chlopicki to issue his almost traitorous order, *that whoever should cross the frontier of the kingdom, and attempt to raise the old provinces, should be punished with death !* He might indeed have issued such an order as it respected Prussian and Austrian Poland ; but as to Russian Poland,—as to Lithuania, where the flame of revolt had already been kindled, and where expectant thousands only waited the signal from old Poland,—it was a death blow to the cause. Chlopicki held back with all his strength the bolt that was ready to burst upon Russia, until its force was almost entirely lost : he sent a deputation to St. Petersburg to attempt an arrangement ; but in the mean time made no necessary preparations to act, in case of their failure. Day after day and week after week were lost. The burning impatience of the Poles to carry the banner of old Poland to the very eastern limit of her frontier, was most unaccountably restrained ; and the army was neglected in the most shameful manner. There were murmurings indeed, from all sides, and great efforts were necessary to induce the people to be quiet under such a system. One of the first communications of the Patriotic Society to the Provisional Government, while Constantine was yet near Warsaw, contained the following requisition.

‘ That Gen. Chlopicki receive an immediate order to destroy or disarm the enemy ; that the citizens of the provinces be authorized to organize the revolt in the interior ; that no negotiations be had with Constantine ; that it is necessary to take and keep him as a guaranty of the nationality of Poland, and to negotiate directly with St. Petersburg.’

Vain promises were all that the waverers granted to the demands of the resolute ; and the more the patriots manifested their impatience, the more liberally were they given ; but nothing decisive was done. The Diet, which assembled in twenty days after the breaking out of the revolt, confirmed the dictatorial power to Chlopicki. To the astonishment of that body, he refused his assent to the celebrated Manifesto published by it on the 9th of January, 1831, in which were set forth, in such strong and glaring colors, the wrongs and the resolutions of Poland. Meantime it was seen that there were no hopes of reconciliation with Russia, but upon conditions of absolute submission ; and then it was that public indignation against the measures, or rather half measures of Chlopicki, became so violent, that he was obliged to resign his dictatorial power.

A supreme national council was instantly formed, under the Presidency of Prince Adam Czartoryski, which addressed the following proclamation to the impatient army.

‘Soldiers! General Chlopicki, to whom the nation with unlimited confidence had given the supreme power, has resigned the glorious task of conducting you to combat. We will not examine the motives which have induced the General to refuse his aid to the public cause in a moment so serious, and so critical for the country ; futurity shall be his judge. But you, brave defenders of our liberty, on you depend the destinies of the nation ; and *you* will not be discouraged by difficulties, nor dismayed by dangers.’

Chlopicki’s heart was as true as his head was weak. He bared his bosom to the bayonets of the enemy, and fought in the ranks, to prove his devotion to his country.

Mr. Hordynski observes, with great correctness :—

‘The Dictatorship had exercised a most unpropitious influence upon our affairs. Every movement had been retarded, and the most invaluable time lost. *Instead of the offensive, the defensive was necessarily taken.* We waited for the enemy on our own soil, and exposed that to his insults and his outrages. Even on this point, the patriots called on the Government to take the offensive, but it was too late. It was soon seen that Chlopicki, by assuming a duty to which he was unequal, gave the first blow to the rising fortunes of his country. Two months passed away, the inevitable moment of the conflict arrived, and the nation was obliged to march to the fight *with half the force which, under an energetic administration, it would have wielded.*’

The Polish army amounted to nearly 50,000 men, exceedingly well organized and provided; that of Diebitsch exceeded 200,000, *all told*; and, as Mr. Hordynski remarks,—

If the very thought of commencing a war with such disproportionate means, against such an overwhelming force, should seem to the reader little better than madness, he will appreciate the energy and courage with which it was supported, when he learns, that in twenty days, from the 10th of February to the 2d of March, more than thirteen sanguinary battles were fought with the enemy, besides twice that number of skirmishes, in which, as we shall see, the enemy was uniformly defeated, and a full third part of his force annihilated.'

The influence of the higher aristocracy had been exercised in the choice of the successor to Chlopicki in the command of the army, which fell upon Prince Radzivil; a man whose patriotism and whose weakness, whose courage and whose incapacity, were alike notorious, and alike undisputed. He himself protested that he felt himself incompetent to the task, and never mounted his horse without Chlopicki by his side. The rapid and brilliant victories gained by the Poles 'were not the result of any general system; they were victories of detail, executed with energy and rapidity, and for which we were indebted to the generals of divisions and brigades, and the colonels of regiments.' *

The dreadful battle of Grokow, which was fought within sight of Warsaw, and where 40,000 Poles withstood and defeated the whole Russian army of more than 150,000 men, was gained, as the Poles say, 'no one knew how,'—and yet it was gained. Nearly 15,000 Russians lay weltering on that plain, which has since borne the name of the 'forest of the dead;' several thousand prisoners were taken by the Poles, and the astounded Diabitsch was obliged to draw off his forces in confusion to the forest of Milosna. That was one of those critical moments, when fortune's flood may be turned by a straw; and if Poland had had a man of talent at her head, at this period of her rising fortunes, the star of Russia might have paled before her. Military men are agreed in the opinion, that Radzivil should have followed up his advantages; even Chlopicki would probably have told him to do so; but

* Hordynski, p. 129.

he had been severely wounded, and carried senseless from the field, and the commander in chief dared not to think for himself. 'Nothing was wanting, but a skilful commander, to ensure the entire destruction of the Russian army.'

The 25th of February was a day, when, on the plains of Gro-kow, as on a sort of theatre, there was a brilliant representation of Polish courage and Polish devotion; but the next day presented a more touching spectacle of religious gratitude, of female devotion, and manly virtue. The city of Warsaw was one wide temple, whose walls could not contain the cries of thanksgiving and praise, which went up to the throne of God; where the soldier, who the day before had heard unflinching the arrows of death whistling by his ears, now sunk down upon his knees in prayer; where the females tore their robes to bind the wounds of their defenders, and the chiefs of the Government and the officers of the army, assembled to deliberate, displayed the most sublime disinterestedness and devotion. Radzivil came forward, and insisted upon giving up the command, to which he found his abilities entirely inadequate. A council was held upon the course to be pursued in the military movements; and then it was that John Skrzynecki, who but three months before was serving as a colonel, proposed a plan of campaign, which he illustrated with such force and perspicuity, as to convince the council that he possessed great military talent. As he had covered himself with glory in many actions, and gained the love of the army, he was instantly chosen commander in chief of all the forces.

The promotion of so young an officer to this high post was not, however, without some political view. The aristocracy, in a moment of enthusiasm, yielded to the party of the *mouvement*; but they renewed their efforts, and tried to gain the new commander. In the bosom of one man, the shame of being superseded, and envy of another's elevation, rankled till it changed him to a fiend: Krukowiecki, the second in command to Chlopicki, from that moment meditated the treason which he afterwards committed.

Had Skrzynecki been allowed to follow the impulse of his own heart, it would have been better for Poland, but he was soon entangled in the meshes of party. His first fault was an attempt to open a negotiation with Diebitsch, for settling the affairs of Poland without farther effusion of blood; for both

the Russians and the Poles construed it into a sign of fear. Diebitsch haughtily repelled his advances; and Skrzynecki, hastily drawing his sword, thus addressed his army;—

‘Soldiers! prepare yourselves for the fight! there remains now no other resource but to conquer, or die honorably for our country. Soldiers! it may be that we shall conquer,—it may be that we shall die; but if the decree has gone forth on high, that the Poles must perish, then the enemy of humanity, trampling over our graves, will advance to the heart of Europe,—the phantom of despotism will wither with his gorgon look all civilization, and mock at those governments and those people who are now so indifferent to our cause, and sit vegetating behind us in selfish inaction.’

A French writer forcibly remarks,—

‘Tant que Skrzynecki restera fidele à cet engagement il sera glorieux et vainqueur, mais dès qu’il voudra négociier ou se laisser diriger par la diplomatie du centre de l’Europe, dès qu’il ne poursuivra plus sur tous les points l’ennemi, il cessera d’être l’homme essentiel aux Polonais, il ouvrira la porte à l’intrigue et à la trahison, et la Pologne tombera.’

Let those who cry out upon the folly and madness of the Polish revolt, but look at the change which took place between the time of Skrzynecki’s election, and the defeat of the Russians at Igani on the 9th of April, and they will cease their clamor. They will find that again and again had Poland crossed swords with Russia, and come off conqueror; the divisions of General Rosen had been broken up, that of Geismar defeated, and Diebitsch himself, with the main army, had been obliged to fall back rapidly from before Warsaw, baffled in his attempts on that city, and seriously alarmed for his own safety. The provinces were all in commotion; there was a burst of indignant reproof heard even in the centre of Russia, and the old Ukraine resounded with the cry ‘to arms, to arms!’

But Skrzynecki neglected to take advantage of these circumstances; a good soldier, but nothing more than a soldier, he only thought of organizing his forces so as to meet the Russians in the field; while his true policy would have been to avoid general engagements, to organize the revolt in the provinces, and through all old Poland, by calling in the serfs, and the *bourgeoisie*, to a participation of all the privileges of citizens. He attempted, indeed, to retrieve his error when it was too late,

by dispatching Chlapowski with a body of men to aid the Lithuanians, and he effected his object by a master stroke of military tactics ; the rest of the expedition, however, was miserably managed, and in consequence entirely failed. Gielgud and Chlapowski retreated across the Prussian frontier, and laid down their arms ; while the hardy Dembinski, by a retreat which deserves to be ranked with that of the *ten thousand*, reached Warsaw in safety. But all the courage, and all the successes of the Polish army were rendered unavailing by the timidity or the inability of the Government, composed, as we have seen, of members of the old aristocracy. We would fain hope that the delays, the half measures, and the want of vigorous action on the part of Skrzynecki, arose from the trammels of party, and not alone from his fatal hope of the intercession of foreign powers to arrange the affairs of Poland.

Be that as it may, some or all of these causes were acting most deleteriously on the interests of the country. Paskewitch, assuming the command, immediately began to act on the offensive ; he advanced towards Warsaw, at the moment when the news of the failure of the Lithuanian expedition had spread gloom over that city. There were loud cries of discontent at the indecision and weakness of Government ; the character of Skrzynecki was assailed, and men began to see that the country was in peril from the faults of its head ; when, to crown all, a plot was discovered for the delivery of the city to the Russians, in which several men of note were engaged. Then was apparent the culpable neglect of Government in allowing the Russian prisoners, and other dangerous persons, such liberty to corrupt the disaffected Poles. Krukowiecki, the Judas who had been plotting to betray his country ever since he was superseded by Skrzynecki, now renewed all his intrigues, and excited the mob to deeds of violence. They seized upon the persons accused of treason, and in their fury hung them in the streets ; they furiously demanded a change in the government, and in the person of the commander in chief ; and they obtained it. Krukowiecki, who was on the spot, who had his agents at every corner, and who had somehow obtained the character of being a man of stern resolution, and of daring courage, and, though without great knowledge or judgment, of Roman virtue, was appointed to fill the post of Generalissimo. He instantly took measures to deliver Warsaw to the

advancing Russians. He sent the main body of the troops to the right bank of the Vistula. When Paskewitch was thundering at the gates of the devoted city, defended so gallantly by the National Guard alone, Krukowiecki made every effort to induce the Diet to demand an amnesty ; but that body, which sat deliberating amid bursting bombs, and burning houses, repelled his proposals with indignation ; nor could the wild roar of war silence the voices of the now suspicious deputies, who cried, ‘ rather will we die here in our places, than stain the honor of our country.’ At midnight the traitor was deposed, a new governor of the city was named, and new vigor given to the fainting defenders of the walls.

‘ Avant minuit le nouveau gouverneur entra en fonctions ; un combat sanglant, dignement soutenu par la valeur seule des Polonais, durait encore. L’ombre de l’immortel général Sowinski planait sur les trente mille Moscovites tombés devant Varsovie.’

But Warsaw fell, and the Government and the most distinguished of the citizens retired with the main body of the army, under the new generalissimo Rybinski. Instead, however, of instantly concentrating the army, and presenting, as might have been done, a force of 50,000 men, *it was kept in three divisions* ; each of which, after offering a vain resistance to the masses of Russians which followed them, were obliged to cross the frontiers into the Prussian or Austrian dominions, and lay down their arms. It ought to be remarked, that the first corps was prevented from joining the main body, *by a reliance on a solemn pledge, given by Paskewitch at the capitulation, that they should be permitted to do so* ; and that Romarino, who commanded the second division, refused to obey the order of the commander in chief for a junction.

So much for the incapacity, the indecision, and the treason which marked the conduct of the chiefs during the late struggle. We have now to allude to the policy of the Cabinets of Prussia, Austria, and France ; and we shall see, that while their conduct explains much of the otherwise apparent folly and weakness of the Polish Government, and especially of the conduct of Skrzynecki, it had an immense influence in procuring the fall of Poland.

Prussia, we know, endeavored by every possible means to prevent any supplies, even of provisions, from reaching the

Poles through her territories; she imprisoned all those foreigners or others, whom she could seize on their journey towards Poland; and yet the Russian armies drew directly from Prussia those supplies, without which they would have been reduced to great distress. The world knows the critical situation to which the army of Diebitsch was reduced, a few weeks before his death. Military men, supposing that Prussia would be neutral, pronounced his retreat to be inevitable. Diebitsch was not the man to lie still, and Major Hordynski, among others, remarks:—

‘If then the Russian army undertook nothing, it was in consequence of their critical situation. We can in fact assume, that it was their intention to evacuate the country; for, to have obtained supplies by their own means was almost impracticable. When therefore this army remained there, it was only because it was fed by Prussia, who did not scruple openly to aid them in their perilous position, by sending enormous transports by the roads of Neydenburg and Mlawa. It was these transports which saved the Russian army from the utmost extremity. I leave to the reader then to judge, whether it was with one enemy alone that the Poles had to contend.’

Many instances occurred, in which bodies of Russian troops were forced by the Poles across the frontier of Prussia. These were allowed to return with their arms; while the Poles, in similar cases, were always kept prisoners. Austria was guilty of a more outrageous act in the capture of the army of Dwernicki, ‘the cannon provider.’ He was resisting the attack of a superior Russian force, with one of his wings resting on the Austrian frontier; the Russians, in order to outflank him, *crossed the line of neutral ground*. Dwernicki, with a half backward wheel, drew his wing further into the interior, and the fighting continued there, when the Austrian forces marched up to preserve the *neutrality* of their territory. Dwernicki was obliged to surrender his army to the Austrians as prisoners, *while the Russians were allowed to withdraw!*

We shall content ourselves with citing these two from among the numerous acts in violation of neutrality, by the neighboring powers; and shall now allude to what it is more difficult to support by tangible evidence, viz. the manner in which Poland was cajoled by the different cabinets of Europe. The policy of Prussia and Austria was openly and avowedly hostile

to the cause of Poland, while *that of France and England tended indirectly, but as certainly, to ruin it.* There are undeniable proofs before the world, that the French cabinet persuaded the Polish Government to check the energy of its people; and pledged their national honor that, in case it were done, an intervention should save Poland from Russia. Louis Philippe, from his royal throne, and as the august organ of the French people, assured the chamber of Deputies, 'that the independence of Poland should be secured;' *la nationalité de la Pologne ne perira pas!* and the Deputies shouted back an enthusiastic assent, and a hearty Amen.

The President of the National Government, the venerable Prince Czartoryski, than whom a more honorable and honest man lives not on earth, says in his correspondence with Lafayette;

'But we relied on the magnanimity and wisdom of the cabinets; *trusting to them, we have not availed ourselves of all the resources which were at our command, both exterior and interior.* To secure the approbation of the cabinets, to deserve their confidence, and to obtain their support, we never departed from the strictest moderation; by which moderation we paralyzed many of the efforts, which might have saved us in these latter days. *But for the promises of the cabinets, we should have been able to strike a blow which perhaps would have been decisive.*'

Did our limits allow it, we could cite many facts of similar tendency to the above, all going to prove that from the very outset of the struggle, *the Polish Provisional Government was induced to restrain the ardor of the people and to prevent the revolt of the old Provinces, merely by the hope of conciliating the other cabinets, and of obtaining the fulfilment of the promises they had made to secure the independence of Poland.* France incurred the most signal disgrace and obloquy, on account of the violation of her pledges; yet she was not acting merely from her own impulse, and we believe that when the diplomacy of the day shall be given over to history, it will be seen that England prevented France from interfering in favor of Poland. But we trust we have said enough to prove our second statement, viz., *that in the last struggle, Poland was lost by the credulity, the misconduct, and the political inability of her chiefs, and by the dishonorable and criminal interference of foreign powers, rather than crushed by the battalions of Russia.*

3. *There is still a hope left for Poland; there is yet a probability, that she may hold a high and respectable rank among the nations of the earth.*

We are aware that this may sound strangely in the ears of those, who consider only the *status quo*, but when we reflect on the eternal and immutable law of nature,—by the effect of which men of the same descent, the same language, the same religion and customs, living in one neighborhood, must have a continual tendency to unite, in spite of the artificial and temporary distinctions which may have ranged them in different classes; when we consider that this great tendency is continually surging, and swelling, and beating against the partition walls which divide Europe, we cannot but prophesy that it must finally sweep them away; and when we try to penetrate futurity, and divine the state of Europe after the coming struggle between the two great principles which now agitate it shall be finished, in the only way in which it can be finished, we cannot but hope for Poland a full share in the benefits of the change. The time is rapidly approaching, when the treaty of Vienna shall be of no more political weight than a *papyrus* from Pompeii; and it is to the great struggle which shall rend that and all other compacts of the kings against the people, that Poland is to look for the only chance of her regeneration.

It is alike important and difficult to ascertain to what extent Poland really exists at this day, and how large a population may be said to be truly Polish. It is not, as the Poles themselves tell us, the same as when Zolkiewski thundered at the gates of Moscow; the twenty millions which Poland then possessed, have been much diminished; but not down to the four millions who formed the Russian Province, misnamed the kingdom of Poland.

Part of Prussian Poland is irrecoverably lost, for it has become *Germanised*; its feelings and sympathies with the common mother-land have been supplanted by other ties. The same is true of a small part of what Austria seized upon;—and although scarcely any of the inhabitants of Russian Poland have become *Russianised*, yet, from certain local circumstances, they no longer consider the cause of Poland as peculiarly interesting to them. Still there remain from ten to twelve millions of inhabitants, who affectionately regard Poland as ‘their own, their native land.’

The late struggle, which is still so fresh in our memories, sufficiently proves the feelings of the four millions of Poles who engaged in it. The revolts in the old provinces attest their impatience of Russian bondage; but Russia holds, besides these, eight millions of Polish subjects, not all of whom can be counted upon as interested in the question. Lithuania proper is undoubtedly so, and we shall find the feeling of patriotism growing fainter as the degree of civilization decreases. In old Samogitia, the nobles or gentlemen are patriotic to a high degree, but the people are so deeply plunged in ignorance and superstition, as to be deaf to the calls of country; and the same is the case in the Ukraine. We have seen with what enthusiasm the Lithuanians received the news of the revolution at Warsaw, and how, in spite of the unaccountable conduct of the Polish Government, it spread through the whole province.—

‘That heroic people commenced the revolution without any ammunition, or any arms but their implements of husbandry. Provided, in most cases, with clubs alone, they abandoned all to unite in our aid, and fought with courage and success for nearly two months against the different Russian corps, before the corps of Gielgud and Chlapowski arrived. These, instead of succoring them, by the misconduct of their generals sacrificed the Lithuanians as well as themselves, and gave the first downward impulse to our cause.’

Lithuania then, in spite of the oppression of the Russians, and their inhuman attempts to trample down all patriotism, may be still counted on securely as Polish, and as ready to form with Poland one people.

As to the Prussian provinces, we have observed that they are mostly lost to Poland, unless in the case of the dissolution of the Prussian power. Prussia has managed her share of Poland much better than the other two spoilers; she has done much toward amalgamating the people with her own; she has nearly accomplished that, against which Jean Jacques Rousseau cautioned the Poles, when he said, ‘if you cannot prevent your enemies from swallowing you, at least do not allow them to *digest you*.’ Prussia has nearly digested her portion, while the enormous one of Russia has given her many an hour of nightmare uneasiness and torment. There still exists, however, in some parts of Prussian Poland, and particularly in the Grand Duchy of Posen, an enthusiastic at-

tachment to old Poland, which displayed itself during the last war by the great contributions raised, and the effectual succor sent across the frontier, in men, horses, and ammunition. Poland may count upon part of the country bordering on the Baltic, and may there obtain what will be necessary for her as an independent nation, a free communication with the ocean.*

‘The better to effect her project of *Germanising* Poland,’ says a Polish writer, ‘Prussia made use of one infernal method; taking advantage of the distress caused by the war of partition, the Government offered to loan money to the nobles at usurious interest; the latter being lavish in expenses, accepted the offer, and the Government thus had the means of getting possession of their lands, and rendering them homeless.’

Of the four millions of subjects which Austria counts in her Gallician territories, nearly two millions are Poles; who preserve, to a great degree, all their national feelings, and are ardent lovers of their old and common country.

It is rather remarkable that Austria, who was the least criminal of the three partitioning powers, and who seemed forced by the other two to partake of the spoil, should have been the one to exercise the greatest oppression upon the country which fell to her share. While Prussia endeavored to incorporate her part with the rest of her territory by the ties of common interest; and Russia for a time tried to improve the wealth and prosperity of hers, in order

* So completely have the political relations of Poland changed, that to talk of a Polish fleet would seem as strange, as to hear of a troop of cavalry in Venice; nevertheless, at one time the merchants of Poland traded in their own ships with Holland, and England, and Spain. There was also a naval force kept up by the Government; which was so active in the war with Sweden, that we find Elizabeth of England writing in great wrath to the king of Poland, to complain of her merchant vessels, which were in the service of Sweden, being captured by the admiral Szerpink. Dantzic was the principal naval *dépôt*; the situation of which place, at the mouth of the Vistula, renders it a most important port for Prussia; but it would be doubly valuable to a nation like Poland, possessing the immense and fertile valley of that river, which can roll down whole forests of timber, and countless cargoes of grain. Poland is now completely cut off from the sea; but in the event of a regeneration, she must extend her frontier to it, and we may see in Dantzic or Memel important arsenals, whence the white eagle of Poland shall stretch his flight over the Baltic, and the ocean.

to render it more valuable to herself, Austria pursued an opposite policy. She destroyed the University of Cracow, and the superior schools through the country; she drained Gallicia of her men and her produce, and impoverished the country by her outrageous exactions. 'Ainsi la noblesse de cette province, une des plus riches de la Pologne, n'a-t-elle pu encore se relever de la misère ou l'ont plongée les exactions du gouvernement.' Her Polish possessions have been, and are a constant subject of uneasiness to Austria; she was glad to consent to their being annexed to Poland proper, which arrangement made a secret article of her treaty with Napoleon before he set off for Moscow; and she was to have had an offset in Illyria. During the last struggle, Gallicia was kept quiet only by the greatest efforts on the part of Austria; but all her efforts availed not to prevent the young and daring from crossing the frontier. Those who could not go themselves sent aid in money, and whole regiments were equipped and supported by the Poles of Austria.

A most interesting document, which has lately appeared in Gallicia, will show us the state of feeling there, at the same time that it sets forth the kind of treatment the Poles are at this moment receiving from Russia. Austria allows a sort of provincial government to Gallicia, which is administered by a body called the Deputation of the States of Gallicia, but which is so limited in power, that it is but a mockery to call it a representation of the people. However, it has lately been so far aroused by the cruelties of the Russians to their brethren since the last revolution, that it addressed a remonstrance to the emperor of Austria, in which it says,—

'You have deigned, Sire, to afford an asylum to those of *our countrymen*, who sought refuge in this Province; you have felt pity for their sufferings; your intercession with the Emperor of Russia in their behalf, obtained for them a full amnesty.'

'Promises of peace and forgiveness were sent unto them. Proclaimed by your commissioners, these promises were believed by the unfortunate refugees. But scarcely had they begun to regain their devastated homes, and to collect their scattered families; a special deputation had scarcely carried to St. Petersburg thanks extorted by terror, when an ukase, dated on the first of May, was suddenly issued, compelling all those who were pardoned to enter the Russian military service, if the name of service can be given to an exile worse than death. Hidden during fifteen years

in the steppes of Asia, confounded in Siberia in the ranks of a barbarous soldiery,—separated from all that can attach them to life,—exposed to the most humiliating punishments, these unhappy men will never again see their country, nor even Europe. The groans of our expiring *brethren* will be lost among the rocks of Caucasus, and in the deserts of Tartary,—groans of despair, at witnessing your Majesty's humane intentions, and generous wishes, so cruelly disappointed.

'But it is not enough, that, under pretext of crime, there has been torn from some more than death itself could rob them of; that they are deprived of their names, and numbered as cattle; that their heads are shaved, and that they are chained to long iron bars, in order to be conducted to the pestiferous mines of Siberia, or to the icy regions of Kamtchatka; it is not enough, that, in contempt of the amnesty granted,—in contempt of the solemn promises given to the Poles, that they should never be carried beyond the frontiers of Europe,—they were shamefully transported in whole masses into Asia, under pretext of Russian military service. It is not enough, that a complete annihilation awaits the whole of the present race; an implacable spirit of vengeance, exercised even against the youngest of the rising generation, aims at its total extermination. Infants, requiring all the tender care of their mothers, are, under a pretended solicitude, torn from their arms, and carried away far to the North, there to be brought up in a new language, and under a foreign religion and foreign customs. Human nature recoils at these details, which have been proved by incontestible evidence. Mothers too, driven to desperation by the atrocities they have witnessed, have been seen to plunge poniards into the bosoms of their own children.'

Were space left us, we might show that Volhynia and Podolia partake largely with Lithuania and Gallicia in their patriotic attachment to Old Poland. We shall content ourselves with quoting the words of a generous Volhynian, who writes thus.

'L'insurrection de la Volhynie, de la Podolie, et de l'Ukraine, sera peu célèbre dans les annales de la stratégie; mais elle sera certainement consacrée dans l'histoire de l'humanité. Des obstacles nombreux et presque insurmontables semblaient devoir s'opposer à cette révolution. Cependant malgré un esclavage de tant d'années; malgré les tentatives faites pour exciter les laborers à separer leur cause de celle des propriétaires; malgré la precaution qu'on avait prise d'enlever aux citoyens leurs armes, il

fut impossible de comprimer l'élan de l'indignation généreuse, de l'amour d'affranchissement, qui embrasait rapidement les cœurs Polonais. A la nouvelle que l'aigle blanc venait de reprendre son vol sur la Vistule, la jeunesse s'empressa de rompre ses études, les laboureurs d'abandonner leurs travaux ; tous les habitans saisirent le glaive, lequel, serré jusqu'alors, attendait l'heure de la vengeance et de la liberté.'

Who, that reflects on the warmth of this feeling, and on the sacrifices which it has induced Poles in all ages to make, can believe that they would hesitate a moment about making common cause against their spoilers, were there a rational hope of success ; and who that knows Europe can deny, that there is every appearance of a general breaking up of the present system ? If this be so, we have proved our third position, *that there is yet a hope left for Poland ; there is yet a probability, that she may one day hold a high and respectable rank among the nations of the earth.*

Long and tedious as we fear we have made this article, we cannot close it without touching on the unhappy state of those Poles who were driven from their country, on account of their participation in the late struggle. We allude not to those who languish in Russian dungeons,—nor to those who are driven in hordes, with shaven heads and fettered arms, towards the mines of Siberia ;—for it makes the heart sick to think that our fellow-men can be guilty of such atrocities, and that their victims are far beyond human aid, or even the reach of human sympathy ;—but we allude to those of Poland's bravest and best, who are living, unhappy and persecuted exiles, in the different countries of Christian Europe.

We have stated that, after the fall of Warsaw, most of the distinguished patriots of Poland followed the army to the frontier, and went into voluntary exile. They dispersed themselves in Prussia, Austria, and the German States ; and more than five thousand of them wandered as far as France. They are now mourning there over the loss of their country, their homes, their wives, and their children ; and though they have the sympathy of the French people, they are most shamefully persecuted by the Government. Their situation has become so irksome, France has so far demeaned herself in order to please the Holy Allies, as to alarm the exiles for their future situation, and make them think seriously of leaving Europe forever. Their Committee, who may be considered as the representa-

tives of Poland, have addressed themselves to the President of the United States, to know how far our Government would favor their removal to this country, *en masse*; and no notice having been taken of the application, they have lately addressed the inhabitants of the country at large, demanding whether there is a corner in our wide land, where the broken soldier and the worn-out patriot may toil in peace for their daily bread. We blush for our country to say, that not only no notice has been taken of these appeals to our humanity, but that they have not been generally republished in the newspapers. This ought not so to be;—this would not be, we are certain, if the people were aware of the unhappy situation of these applicants. Unfortunately, an impression prevails that we can do nothing for Poland, and the subject is laid aside. But we have our duties to God, and to ourselves, and we ought to make an effort to fulfil them, be the prospect of their utility ever so faint. If the people would but speak out their will, the Government would act in a manly and Christian, and not in a diplomatic manner; it would do something for the honor of the age, for the character of the human race, by proclaiming its detestation of the atrocities of another Government towards suffering millions. It would record, in the page of history, its solemn protest against them, by stretching out a helping hand to the persecuted victim of despotism, and receiving the homeless exile. There are times and cases, when the ordinary rules of diplomacy and international courtesy should be disregarded, and when all other considerations should yield to the claims of outraged humanity.

But, at least, let not the people of this country be outdone by those of England, in efforts for the Poles. The friends of humanity in London have formed themselves into a society called the ‘Literary Association of the Friends of Poland;’ the object of which is, to keep up the public interest in the fate of that country, and add to that force of public opinion, which is every day becoming more and more formidable to despots. The good effects of this society, which is presided over by the generous Campbell, have already become evident. We have before us the first number of a monthly periodical, published by them, under the title of ‘Polonia, or Monthly Report on Polish Affairs;’ which, while it almost freezes us with horror at the detail of the barbarities now committed in Poland, says, nevertheless, one extenuating word for human nature,

by announcing the rising feeling of indignation among the British public, and the formation of branch societies in the country.

To the people of England, the Poles have made no direct appeal. To that of this country they have. They looked to America with confident expectation of sympathy ; for the little aid sent from this country to them during their struggle, having been applied immediately to the people, and not to the Government, had the effect of making them give us ten times the credit we deserve ; and a proof of the kindred feeling with which they regard us may be seen in the fact, that in the arms of their National Committee, they have intertwined our flag with that of France and Poland.

Shall we do nothing to merit this feeling of partiality ? The Poles ask not of us bread,—they ask not money, though God knows that from our full coffers, and overflowing granaries, a little might be spared to the starving exile ; but they ask us to unite our voices to the cry of indignant England, and add our mite to that force of public opinion, which is their sole hope for the moment. Shall we refuse them this ;—nay ! shall we not grant them more ? Shall we not say to the persecuted patriots, ‘ Come here, and ye shall find rest ;—we have lands rich as your own plains, and rivers as broad as your own Vistula, on whose bank you may build a new Warsaw, which the sword of no Suvaroff shall ever reach ? ’ Such language, though perhaps at variance with the forms of diplomacy, would be generous, manly and Christian. It would be language, in which the free and generous people of America ought to protest to posterity, that they had no part nor lot in the iniquitous and inhuman policy of Europe.

ART. VI.—*Lord Byron's Conversations on Religion.*

Conversations on Religion with Lord Byron and others.

By the late JAMES KENNEDY, M. D. London. 1830.

In all our lives, whether as reviewers or as men, we do not remember to have read a more singular book than this. It contains the history of an attempt made by the writer to convert Lord Byron to Christianity, a change which was suffi-